*The Idea of a University:* Intellectual chaos results without religion in the curriculum *by John Henry Newman*

CALIFORNIA ★ POLITICAL
# REVIEW
SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER 2010 • VOLUME 21 • NUMBER 4 • $4.95

## Introducing Jerry Brown as perennial state gadfly

Dave Stirling wraps up his series on Brown with a look at his current job performance.

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# Vote 2010

## California Political Review's 2010 November Special Election issue

Continuing a venerated *CPR* tradition — in a potential earhquake year — we here provide exclusive sketches of the Golden State's most competitive Congressional, state Senate, and Assmbly races.

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Ron Keeva Unz
555 Bryant St #371
Palo Alto, CA 94301

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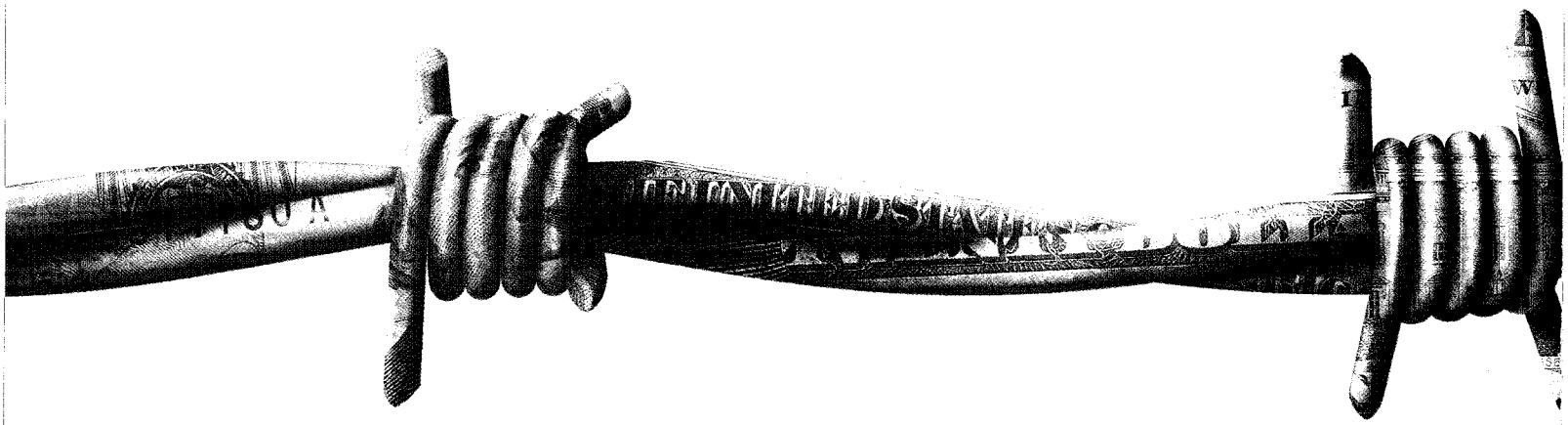

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# REVIEW

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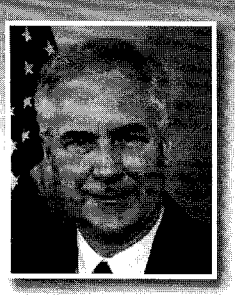

Tom McClintock

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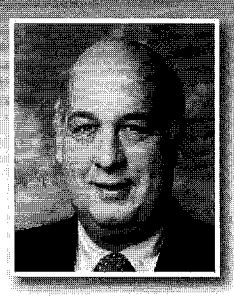

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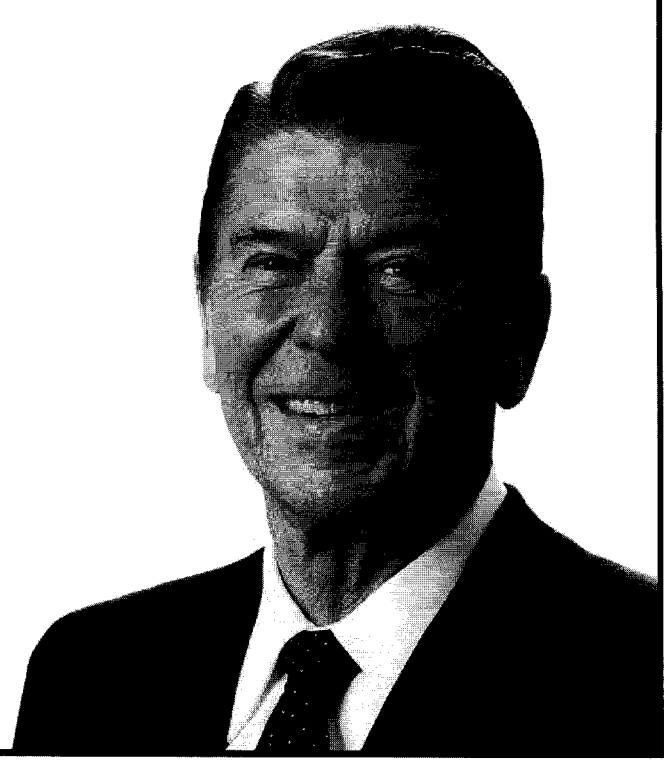

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# CORRESPONDENCE

### A continuous effort

I'd like to add one point to Sam Paredes' "What You Haven't Been Told About Gun Control" (*CPR* July/August 2010) regarding how we will restore our rights under Supreme Court' decisions *Heller* and *McDonald.* All my life, I've seen a steady progression of restrictions against my gun rights. We must view this fight as a permanent occupation, not an *ad hoc* problem we fix and then forget. Think of political vigilence as we do of crime fighting or protecting our health, not a thing for a day or month, but a continuous effort.

Faye Ankeny
Fresno

### The Satirist

Comedians on major networks have recently begun telling "Obama jokes" ("The Satirist — Evan Sayet," *CPR,* July/August 2010). It took them 19 months after Inauguration Day to begin — too long. I anticipate inspiration from new TV and internet programs with comedians who will skewer the destructive liberalism our culture now endures and never win the approval of the P.C. and old-networks crowd. Bring it on, *www.rightnetwork.com*!

Woody Burns
Berkeley

### The 'race card'

The current use of these three terms was always confusing: race, racism, and racial politics. I thank *CPR* Editor John Kurzweil for clarifying them. I may now relegate the term "racial politics" to my mental list of empty, liberal buzz-words used exclusively by power-hungry folks who regularly try to manipulate our minds with a "race card." (The meaning of *that* term is crystal clear to anyone watching the politial scene today.)

I never took much notice of the race of my school or neighborhood friends. They were kids just like me, even if we didn't all look the same. Only after the 1960s "race riots" did I consider the facts: Stephen was a Korean adopted by a Jewish family, Rodney was Asian, Diane and Gilmore and Angie and Jimmy had darker skin. They were my friends, so how could any of this matter? The left's fixation on our different races is two-faced, evil, and divisive. May we overcome that primitive mode!

Linda Teegarten
Citrus Heights

### This time, a victory that will last

Remember the old "11th Commandment"?: *speak not ill of another Republican.* Bad advice in 2010. It's amazing — and great — to see so many RINOs turned out from Congress (and at the state level too) with candidates who stand for the true principles of the Party of Lincoln. If it weren't for them running in 2010 and beyond, California's term-limits would have been the order of the day to get the GOP's house in order. As it is, we can look forward to more principled minds behind some new faces in Congress next January — and throughout the country. This time, comservative victory should mean something

Bud Morgan
Hemet



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# SACRAMENTO SPECTATOR

You can never go too far wrong quoting Winston Churchill – or replicating his drinking and smoking habits. Though not a cigar smoker, I was relishing both a silky Spanish brandy and the current political climate the other evening, listening to GOP moderates whining about conservative primary victories. It recalled to mind Churchill's comment about the Germans: "always either at your throat or your feet," and how apropos it is to the GOP's moderates.

Now that the Republican electorate has spoken, and spoken with a distinct conservative accent, the PS clique of GOP Sore Losers is officially on the march, as are their cheerleaders in the media. In Alaska, defeated Senator Lisa Murkowski, apparently thinking that since her daddy appointed her to the seat it was her toy for life, announced that she was mounting a write-in campaign for November to "defeat the extremist elements of the Republican Party."

In Murkowski-speak an "extremist element" is anyone who voted against darling Lisa. Good luck in getting Murkowski not only written but also spelled correctly on ballots in November. In Delaware, defeated Senate hopeful Congressman Mike Castle has announced he will not support GOP nominee Christine O'Donnell, because she belongs to, you guessed it, the "extremist element that is taking over the Republican Party."

Up until the polls closed in Delaware, the PS caucus – presuming a Castle victory – was lecturing conservatives on the importance of supporting the GOP nominee in November, no matter who it was, in order to win control of the Senate. In a whiplash inducing turnabout, the next morning the Pachyderm Squishies caucus was foaming at the mouth, denouncing its own GOP electorate and announcing that O'Donnell was beyond the pale.

Controlling the United States Senate somehow lost its urgency overnight. In New York, Mayor Mike Blooomberg – our own Governor Schwarzenegger's closest soul mate in the national GOP – announced that he was endorsing the Democrat nominee for governor, Mario Cuomo's little boy Andrew.

You may remember that in Florida, Republican Governor Charlie Crist left the party when it became obvious he would be obliterated by Florida House Speaker Marco Rubio in the GOP Senate primary. In Utah, GOP Senator Bob Bennett, defeated for re-nomination, announced he wouldn't support the conservative GOP nominee. And in South Carolina, GOP Congressman Bob Inglis has not only refused to support the conservative who beat him but is spending every free moment – and Inglis has had a lot of free moments since the primary – denouncing, all together now, "dangerous conservative extremists."

This "big tent" is dusted off every two years to try to force establishmentarian candidates on a conservative GOP electorate. This year that electorate saw through the charade and chose GOP nominees who believe in traditional Republican principals. What gall.

Conservatives will ride to victory a wave of voter revulsion against the socialists in both parties. The moderates, at our throats now, will be at our feet in November — the traditional position for the grossest of hypocrites — a position they have, once more, richly earned.

*— A.P.C.*



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# A Closer Look

## Legalize marijuana?

*Myths aplenty swirl around the subject of prohibition and its effectiveness.*

MICHAEL S. FREDENBURG

On November 2, California voters will be asked to legalize marijuana for recreational use. Interestingly, the last time California voters had a chance to vote on legalizing Marijuana was in 1972, and it was also Prop. 19. The 1972 version of Prop. 19 lost 66 percent to 33 percent, but times they are a changing; and the latest Prop. 19 appears to be running 5 to 10 points ahead among likely voters.

So it seems there is strong possibility that Prop. 19 will pass, but will legalization make California a better place both for those who use marijuana and those who do not?

At a high-level Prop. 19 proponents argue that marijuana is already so widely used that legalizing it will have very little impact on usage rates. Further, they argue by making it legal and regulating it, it will reduce crime associated with illegal sales and distribution of marijuana, while providing a new source of sorely needed tax revenue.

Before delving into the specifics of these claims, an even bigger question is just begging to be answered. If it makes sense to legalize marijuana on the basis of crime reduction, why not legalize cocaine, heroine, etc.? In fact, if we make everything legal we can eliminate all crime. While most people reject this *reductio ad absurdum* type argument as being ridiculous, it does raise an important point — we have to draw a line somewhere.

In our society this line has been drawn around two legal drugs known as alcohol and tobacco. Yes, various other drugs at times throughout our history have been legal including cocaine, marijuana, peyote, psilocybin, etc., but once society determined the negative effects of the these drugs they were made illegal. So the status quo is tobacco and alcohol and opponents of Proposition 19 feel the two legal drugs are more than enough

Regardless of the *status quo,* Prop. 19 proponents have been very successful in convincing a largely uninformed public that legalization will have little to no impact on use since everybody is ignoring the law anyway. After all, if the ban on marijuana is having no effect on its use, then why continue the ban when all it does is fuel tax free profits for drug cartel criminals? Of course if the ban on heroine is not affecting usage, then why continue that ban? and so on.

This foundation for this argument is largely based upon the myth of the failure of Prohibition via the Volstead Act/18th Amendment. Contrary to what many people think, Prohibition did not actually prohibit drinking alcohol, but it did prohibit the commercial sale and distribution of alcohol. It also permitted the production of alcohol for personal use. So it was far from a total prohibition. Nonetheless, Mark Moore Professor of Criminal Justice at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government notes that "For the population as a whole, the best estimates are that consumption of alcohol declined by 30 percent to 50 percent."

So looking narrowly at the impact of Prohibition, it did actually reduce alcohol use significantly. Jeffrey A, Miron of American Economic Review concludes this: "The myth of heavy drinking during the 1920s is widespread — and memorable (after all, these were the Roaring Twenties). It appeals to the rebel in us, and to our opposition to overly restrictive laws. But the fact is, most people stopped drinking during Prohibition, and only very slowly began drinking again after 1933."

Even without the statistics this argument never made sense. Sure there were a lot of places one could

---

*Michael S. Fredenburg is a conservative writer and political activist living in the San Diego area.*



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illegally buy and consume alcohol during prohibition, but the numbers of such establishments was but a tiny percent relative to the hundreds of thousands of legal outlets we see pre and post prohibition. There are actually many studies that show easy access to alcohol does increase consumption.

So the idea that radically increasing the availability and reducing the cost of Marijuana will not lead to increased usage is a ridiculous. It is important to remember that today, just as there was during the time of Prohibition, there millions of Californian's who do not smoke pot, or do so at a much reduced rates simply because it is illegal.

Along with the alleged fruitlessness of maintaining a ban on marijuana for non-medicinal uses, proponents argue that Marijuana is a mild drug that is far less dangerous than alcohol and tobacco. In other words since we already have highly harmful, legalized drugs we must legalize another harmful, albeit less harmful drug.

An interesting argument to be sure given the devastating impact alcohol abuse and tobacco use has on society. Alcohol related deaths account for nearly 100,000 per year. Economic costs, loss of productivity, treatment, illness, etc., are estimated to be around $200 billion per year. These statistics do not take into account the immeasurable suffering to those who lost a loved one to drunk drivers, those dealing with alcohol-related domestic violence, diminished capacity to parent, be a loving spouse, etc, etc. etc, etc.....

By shear numbers of deaths per year, tobacco-related disease dwarfs alcohol, with over 400,000 deaths annually and over 8 million more people dealing a serious tobacco-related illness. However, unlike alcohol-abuse, tobacco use does not generally result in loss of judgment, physical impairment, mental impairment, personality change, etc.

On the other hand, Marijuana combines the best of alcohol and tobacco having both short and long-term negative physiological effects while being carcinogenic when smoked. The National Institute on Drug Abuse documents some of the incontrovertible effects of marijuana.

Marijuana intoxication can cause distorted perceptions, impaired coordination, difficulty in thinking and problem solving, and problems with learning and memory that can last for days for weeks after the acute effects wear off. Consequently, someone who smokes marijuana every day may be functioning at a suboptimal intellectual level all of the time.

Marijuana increases heart rate by 20–100 percent shortly after smoking; this effect can last up to 3 hours. In one study, it was estimated that marijuana users have a 4.8-fold increase in the risk of heart attack in the first hour after smoking the drug.

Marijuana smoke contains 50–70 percent more carcinogenic hydrocarbons than does tobacco smoke. Marijuana smokers show dysregulated growth of epithelial cells in their lung tissue, which could lead to cancer.

Further, a study of 450 individuals found that people who smoke marijuana frequently, but do not smoke tobacco have more health problems and miss more days of work than nonsmokers. Many of the extra sick days among the marijuana smokers in the study were for respiratory illnesses.

The preceding is but of a partial listing of the negative effects of marijuana. So far from being harmless, marijuana is a powerful, addictive drug that impacts behavior and mental function far more than cigarettes. Further, unlike alcohol, where small amounts (1 — 2 ounces) have shown actual health benefits, marijuana intake is just flat-out unhealthy.

So far with marijuana we have a highly addictive drug with severe to moderate health consequences that if made legal will see a big uptick in use. But what about regulating it and getting some tax revenue from it? After all if it is regulated won't it make harder for minors to get a hold of it? Suffice it to say while it is pretty easy for some under 21 to obtain illegal marijuana, it is far easier for them to obtain alcohol. So once marijuana is legalized it will be both cheaper and easier for everyone to obtain. Of course the wide scale availability at commercial establishments is only a small part of what Prop. 19 will do to increase availability.

The main increase in availability will come from being able to grow 25 square feet of marijuana for



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Al Capone

your own personal use. Unlike making wine, brewing beer or distilling alcohol, growing potent, high-quality marijuana is really, really easy. Each garden potentially will yield pounds of marijuana. If proposition 19 passes, conservatively we will have hundreds of thousands of Californians growing pot in their backyards for "personal" use.

This inevitably will lead to a mass increase of neighbor-on-neighbor crime as young and not so young people hop fences to snatch plants. That there will be an uptick in violence around this kind of theft seems inevitable. Of course there is the issue of regulating the 25 square feet. Do we want police running around measuring square feet and court cases around what really constitutes 25 square feet? Bottom line is that Prop. 19 will radically increase the amount of pot available to people of all ages. Further this new source of tax revenue will be lucky to even bring in 10 percent of the $1.4 billion being touted. The not so secret secret is that Prop. 19 was largely written by libertarians who are no fans of regulation or more taxes for the government. Not surprising it is written in such a way regulation will be well-nigh impossible and tax revenues will be scanty.

Continuing in the anti-regulation them, Proposition 19 establishes a dangerous legal precedent by establishing marijuana use as a protected class under the law. This means employers will be not be prohibit marijuana use by their employees unless they can prove that such use impairs job performance. In other words, smoking a joint at lunch and coming into the office reeking will be a protected behavior.

Proposition 19 will lead to an increase in the use of a harmful drug by increasing the ease in obtaining it, reducing its cost and giving it society's stamp of approval. By design, Proposition 19 makes it almost impossible to regulate marijuana use and distribution. It has the potential to increase neighbor-on-neighbor

# WHAT YOU HAVEN'T BEEN TOLD ABOUT GUN CONTROL

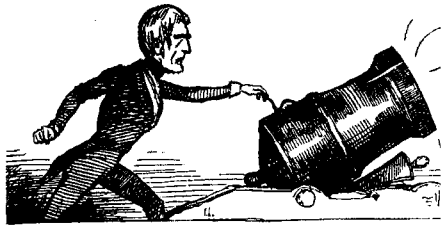
By SAM PAREDES

For those who pay attention to the Second Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, both for and against, on Monday, June 28, 2010, the world changed.

In an historic five-to-four ruling, the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that the Second Amendment is an individual right, "fundamental to our scheme of ordered liberty" and "deeply rooted in the Nation's history and tradition." Earlier, in *Heller v. Washington DC,* the Supreme Court held that the right to keep and bear arms could not be infringed upon by the federal government. Now, in its June 28 ruling, *McDonald v. Chicago,* the court said the right also applies against state and local government infringements.

This momentous decision has now opened the door for Second Amendment supporters, as our founding fathers envisioned, to challenge in court many of the unconstitutional gun control laws that are on the books of state and local governments. For the first time, pro-gunners not only are morally and historically correct about what the Second Amendment means, we are now *constitutionally* supported, according to the Supreme Court.

The flood gates have opened. Lawsuits filed across the nation challenge registration laws, restrictive policies and outright bans on the concealed weapons permits, bans on the possession of certain models of semi-automatic firearms,



registration and other restrictions on the purchase of ammunition by law-abiding citizens, and more.

You can bet other lawsuits are in the wings that will challenge the legality of waiting periods and one-gun-a-month restrictions, along with challenges against all of the other hare-brained ideas the "antis'" have turned into law.

Don't get the idea this is some free-for-all attempt to recapture all of the ground we've lost. It's a systematic effort to promote lawsuits built on successes as they are achieved. *Heller* and *McDonald* laid the legal foundation for re-asserting our Second Amendment rights. Now we must be carefull to broaden and strengthen that foundation. Fortuntely, conservatives, at least since Bush II nominated Harriet Myers, seem finally to understand that Supreme Court appointent are all-important. One hopes GOP Senators understand it as well. CPR

*Sam Paredes is executive director of Gun Owners of California.*



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crime. In a society dealing with the effects of fatherlessness, broken families, dysfunctional communities, etc, Proposition 19 sends the wrong message and puts children even more at risk. Yes, the drug war has been largely unsuccessful, but throwing in the towel by legalizing a harmful drug is the wrong answer. CPR

# The Law

## Wanted: clean water

*Not micromanagement of our land*

BOB L. VICE

Keeping America's waterways and water supply clean is a crucial goal. So is guarding against federal micromanagement of our lives and property. Unfortunately, a push is on to use the cause of clean water as an excuse to unbalance our federal system and undermine our liberties by concentrating regulation of land use in Washington, D.C. The proposed "Clean Water Restoration Act" was the first legislative salvo in this campaign. Unveiled in 2007, the CWRA was reintroduced in the senate last year by Senator Russ Feingold, D-Wisconsin. With a simple semantic change, it would usher in unprecedented centralization by giving federal officials the powers of a national zoning board.

Under the current Clean Water Act, federal authority extends to "navigable waters" — rivers, lakes and oceans. The CWRA would erase the word, "navigable," substituting the far broader phrase, "waters of the United States."

"This change would subject every pond, puddle, and ditch to control from Washington," observes attorney Reed Hopper, my colleague at Pacific Legal Foundation, a legal watchdog organization for property rights and limited government. In 2006, Hopper won the landmark Clean Water Act case of *Rapanos v.*

---

*Bob L. Vice is a senior adviser with Pacific Legal Foundation, a legal watchdog organization for property rights and limited government. An avocado grower in Fallbrook California, Vice is a former president of the California Farm Bureau Federation.*



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*United States* at the U.S. Supreme Court. It reined in officious federal bureaucrats who were second-guessing property owners even where no navigable waters were present. The CWRA is an attempt to overturn *Rapanos* and lift restraints on federal regulators. They would be licensed to issue orders on private property across the country, without having to show any connection to navigable waters.

Bipartisan opposition to this power grab has stalled it in the U.S. senate, at least for now. But a new, parallel effort was recently introduced in the House by Representative Jim Oberstar, D-Minnesota. Its title is different and has a feel-good ring: "America's Commitment to the Clean Water Act." But the aim is the same: federal control of land use.

Unlike Feingold's measure, the Oberstar bill includes a nod to the constitution's limits on federal power. The measure says it would federalize waters only where there is a connection to "interstate commerce." But it goes on to state that all water, everywhere, can fit this definition. Even "geographically isolated" water, if polluted or "degradat(ed)," can have "a substantial relation to and effect on interstate commerce."

"The Oberstar legislation," Hopper says, "is so broad that the only practical limit is the regulators' own subjective judgment — in other words, no limit at all. Federal bureaucrats could control virtually any wet spot in the country, and much of the surrounding land." Both bills take aim at the historic American understanding that land use regulation should generally be entrusted to local communities and their elected leaders. Everyone who owns property should be concerned, but farmers and ranchers have special reason for worry. Flooding, droughts, freezes, windstorms — these natural challenges go with the territory for people who devote their lives to the land. But red tape blizzards are another matter. If you don't have a river, lake, or other navigable water on or near your land, the feds shouldn't have a veto over how you operate your farm or ranch.

Farmers and ranchers need a clean water supply. Across the country, including in my own state of California, they already work with state and local agencies to protect water purity. Adding federal layers of bureaucracy can mean redundancy, inefficiency, and significant, unnecessary expense in both dollars and time. The federal permitting process is costly. One study, cited by Justice Antonin Scalia in the *Rapanos* decision, reported that even small fill projects cost nearly $30,000 and take more than 300 days to process, while larger land-use projects cost more than $271,000 and require an average of 788 days. The Army Corps of Engineers has been known to insist on


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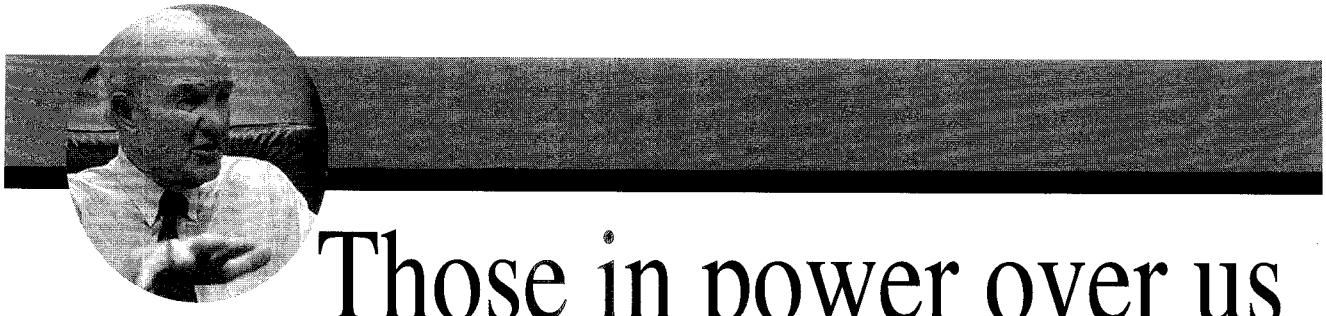
permits for even basic agricultural work, such as the discing of farmland.

The federal government has a vital role to play in guaranteeing clean water. But its proper focus is on rivers, lakes, streams, and wetlands that actually are integrated with navigable waters. Common sense, traditions of local control, and constitutional principles of federalism all say that isolated waters — and routine land-use decisions on most private property — are matters for state and local oversight, not dictates from Washington, D.C. CPR



# Those in power over us

## Beware: Obama knows exactly what he is doing.

*The party of 'no' must de-fund, but carefully.*

BY LEWIS K. UHLER

It is now popular among conservatives — and tea partiers — to revel in Obama's political mistakes on the economy and the potential shellacking he and his party will receive this November for separating themselves from mainstream America. We are now talking confidently about taking over the House and aggressively de-funding ObamaCare and many other federal spending programs.

Not so fast. Obama is a brilliant student of Saul Alinsky politics: *Rules for Radicals.* The political assumption is that he has made terrible political mistakes, that will bring down his "colleagues" in the senate and house as collateral damage to his lack of political wisdom and experience. The reality is: Obama doesn't care a whit for his "fellow" Democrats' political survival. They are expendable. They have enabled him to make radical changes in America — ObamaCare, financial "reform," restoration of classic welfare. And he will await major Republican mistakes over the next two years to be able to run successfully for a second term so he can continue to dismantle the America he hates.

His stimulus packages and other "job creation" efforts have "failed." But look at this from Obama's point of view: he has been brilliantly successful, adding federal public-employee union jobs that pay big political dues to his labor friends — *ditto* for the billions he's pumped into teacher and state and local government unions. These are his political allies; they sustain him.

Take over Detroit and save the united auto workers unions and their pensions. Add months of unemployment "insurance" to make more people dependent longer (even his own former economic advisor, Lawrence Summers, has written of the adverse effects of unemployment insurance on re-employment of workers). Convert student loans from private banking jobs to government union jobs. Explode welfare by dismantling the highly successful "welfare-to-work" act of '96, and thereby expand the political union dues-paying cadre of welfare workers and broaden the base of people dependent on government. Fundamentally change the American way of life through EPA, SEC, FCC, and FDA administrative rulings by the and a myriad of other executive agencies.

It appears Obama is perfectly content to see a repeat of 1994 when Newt and company took over control of the house with a huge win of 54 new Republican seats. Obama expects that Republicans will over-reach with a "Contract-for-America" approach and, as with Clinton, that he will be re-elected in a wave of concern over Republican congressional actions and policies.

We can win the battle of 2010, yet lose the limit-

*Lewis K. Uhler is founder and president of the National Tax Limitation Committee, grassroots taxpayer advocates since 1975.*



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Obama-to-one-term war if we are not extremely careful. And we can't afford a repeat of Robert Redford's famous line in the movie, The Candidate, when, upon winning office, Redford asks "What do we do now?"

Let's shape our direction for the next two years now. We know for certain people want less spending, an end to deficits, an end to ObamaCare, less invasive government and pro-job-creating policies and taxes. The polls and tea party movement confirm this. Also, we have available a new, objective standard for limited government and economic growth-maximizing policy: the "right size" of government. This can be our political anchor. It can energize thoughtful Americans to put our nation on the right track — and keep her there.

To get on that track the Republican agenda must appear — and be — even-handed and objective in terms of reviewing, evaluating, and sharing with the American people accurate information about federal programs and spending. The process must involve citizens in decisions about reforms, consolidations, devolution of programs to state and local governments and program terminations. This process should rely on all the evaluative tools and procedures available and call on all special interests and their lobbyists to be players in the process.

Here are a few powerful tools available to Republicans to help them say "no" to spending: Devote 2011 exclusively to holding "oversight" hearings on all programs, and publicize the failures, waste, fraud, and abuse. "Oversight" is legislative jargon for reviewing


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*Hold on my friends, to the Constitution and to the Republic for which it stands. Miracles do not cluster and what has happened once in 6000 years, may not happen again. Hold on to the Constitution, for if the American Constitution should fail, there will be anarchy throughout the world.*

— Daniel Webster

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programs, departments, and agencies — and, presumably, reforming and/or getting rid of the bad stuff. Of the 20-plus standing committees in the house, 11 have built-in oversight subcommittees, and all committees have oversight responsibilities. One standing committee, "Oversight and Government Reform," is devoted entirely to oversight. So no shortage of horsepower exists in the house to clean house — if the will to do it is present.

Apply a "zero-based" budget approach, where the burden of proof is on the proponent to demonstrate value from the first dollar spent. Look at duplication and overlap, proneness to fraud and abuse, as well as at OMB (Office of Management and Budget) scores. Recorded committee votes should be taken on whether a program deserves to be continued and funded, in whole or in part.

Force the house to follow its own rules on appropriations without a current authorization. House Rule XXI allows a procedural challenge on the house floor for any appropriation for which there is not current approval by the policy committee responsible for that program. Every year the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) is required to publish a list of programs that are funded but do not have a current authorization. In 2010, that number is shocking — $290 billion worth of programs. New Republicans and their leaders should demand that if the authorizing committees can't muster a current authorization vote within the first three months of the year, such programs will be de-funded. Billions could be cut overnight. Set up outside, independent, informal "bureaucracy closure commissions" to aid the leadership and to recommend program changes, consolidations, devolution to state and/or local governments or program terminations.

These commissions would be modeled after the highly successful Dick Armey creation, the "Base Realignment and Closure Commissions" (BRAC). Independent, outside, appointed commissioners recommended "packages" of base closures to take the process out of the hands of log-rolling congressmen who wanted to keep "their" base. A package deal was struck unless Congress — on a single up-or-down vote — said "no." This overrode pedestrian, narrow special interests and saved America billions. Such commissions would do the same with domestic programs that have survived only because no one has been able and willing to let the sun shine in. Republican leaders would simply be responding to the advice of independent experts. Tea partiers can become a cheering section for this process which would be transparent and available instantly on the web.

Get the Congressional Caucuses — and the "K" Street lobbyists — to adopt a "let's-make-a-deal" attitude with respect to de-funding many of their sacred cows. A little-known force is at work in the house called "Congressional Member Organizations" — better known as "congressional caucuses." More than 300 of them represent the special-interests of Members. These range from the Algae Energy Caucus, the Biomedical Research Caucus, Congressional Caucus on Beef, and Congressional Caucus on Coal, to the Black Caucus, the Osteoporosis Caucus, the Baltic Caucus and the Iraqi Women's Caucus. They help drive spending for their "constituents," whether farm subsidies, transit subsidies, black programs, special-industry-support programs, etc.

The new Republican leadership should convince these groups mutually to reduce their demands on the federal treasury. The leadership can set the parameters and the dollar amounts, but let these special interests within the Congress make suggestions and be part of the solution. This is not pie in the sky. It has been done before. In 1981 and '82, Ronald Reagan asked every special interest to "back off" for the benefit of the nation's future. It worked then (and we had tremendous prosperity for a long time), and it can work now.

Bottom line: This one-house de-funding crusade should be driven by the premise — the reality, actually — that "the people have spoken." Republicans must cut spending, deficits, and taxes. If they set this process in motion quickly in 2011, it will provide a level of certainty about spending practices that will begin to heal the economy. Most importantly, it will prevent Obama from pitting Americans against each other on spending, opening the door for him and his radical cohorts to return and once more ravage American institutions and freedoms as he has in 2009 and 2010. This is the critical issue: how to restore America's fiscal and intergenerational equity in a calm, fair, balanced fashion. And it will launch America on the road to smaller government, moving us in the direction of optimal, or "right size," government.

Republicans must "right-size" government so we can enjoy maximum economic growth and increase the size of the national economic "pie." Only in that way can we lessen the necessary "pain" of a readjustment to fewer "benefits" to restore America's freedom, and a brighter future for ourselves and especially for our children and grandchildren. CPR



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Election Special

# California Overview

**BY WILLIAM E. SARACINO**
MEMBER, *CPR* EDITORIAL BOARD

**Continuing *CPR's* ELECTION SPECIAL, William E. Saracino sketches California's most competitive Congressional, state Senate, and Assembly races leading up to November 2.**

Sitting in the middle of the room during any discussion of California's political prospects is the proverbial 800-pound gorilla: the national climate and the effect it will have on Golden State results in November. Will the current anti-establishment tide, which has made a cleansing sweep through so much of the country, crest the Sierras and inundate California? Will the now-looming national rout of Democrats at the polls continue to be apparent? The answer to those questions weigh heavily on any analysis of likely California results.

The results from our primary frankly don't shwo that tea-party fervor was a significant factor here, as the more conservative candidates lost the top-tier contests. But it wouldn't take a continuation of the national conservative trend in California to make it a good November for Republicans of all stripes for all offices — and the GOP legislative ticket is heavily weighted with conservatives.

If it is clear on the weekend before the election that the Democrats are going to be vaporized nationally, that knowledge will depress Democrat turnout and energize GOP turnout in California, regardless of what the polls at the time say about our own races. If that dynamic exists all bets are off, and an extremely good election day could result for Republicans.

## GOVERNOR

A tired, very old looking lifetime politician versus a fresh-faced, successful business woman. In almost any other state that would be no contest. But this is California. Meg Whitman (she of the bottomless checkbook) has run "by the book" campaigns in both the primary and general elections. This has served her well most of the time, but has occasionally infected her with "foot in mouth" disease, as with her changing positions on illegal immigration and the repeal of AB 32. I checked with President Forbes and Governor Checchi and both both told me Whitman's ability to spend "whatever it takes" isn't a guarantee of victory.

Frankly her positions are bland, safely middle of the road for the most part (with the glaring exceptions of her liberal stances on the Arizona immigration law and repealing AB32), meant to show a competent leader who will stick to common sense to lift California out of the quagmire it's inhabited the past eight years. A friend commented disapprovingly that Whitman is re-running the Tom Dewey presidential campaign of 1948, feeding large spoons full of pabulum to the voters, hoping that their revulsion at the opponent will be enough. That tactic famously did not win for Mr. Dewey, but it just might for Meg Whitman. The national political atmosphere is one large difference. Har-



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ry Truman managed to energize what had been a dispirited Democrat voter base and squeaked to victory. By the end of the campaign it was the Democrats who smelled victory, not the Republicans. It is highly unlikely that President Harry S Obama. can reverse his dismal poll numbers and breath life into the Democrat base at this late date. And it's hard to imagine Jerry Brown energizing anyone or anything. So Whitman's "no hard edges" campaign may be the right prescription this year.

Jerry Brown, as usual, has been an enigma. Essentially unopposed in the primary, he essentially was AWOL for the entire campaign. Unopposed primaries are traditionally used to take advantage of the lack of opposition

1) to define, or re-define, yourself and
2) to define your likely November opposition. Brown did neither, and is suffering for that now.

**Jerry Brown, as usual, has been an enigma. Unopposed in the primary, he essentially was AWOL the entire campaign.**

He has always been one of the more laid-back politicos, the antithesis of the Type A personality. That worked well in the lazy '70s when he was young. Now that he is most definitely not young, and looks even older than he is, being laid back can easily translate into being tired and worn out. His campaign commercials have tried hard to present him as a no nonsense candidate who will govern from the center, even perhaps the center-right ... sort of a George Deukmejian who 'way in the past did drugs and slept with Linda Rondstadt.

Sadly, what should be Brown's glaring liabilities — Chief Justice Rose Bird and opposition to the death penalty — have basically been non-issues. Most voters don't remember the atrocity that was Bird, and Brown oddly gets a pass on the death penalty by pledging to enforce the law. He of course hasn't, and has fought its implementation, but in this time of 25 percent effective unemployment Californian's focus is elsewhere.

I have to think that in the end Brown will finally have worn out his welcome with Californians. Whitman has a powerful message in "it's the future versus the past," and few voters show any difficulty in telling which candidate represents which path. — *Advantage Whitman*

**LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR**

This office usually doesn't merit a separate analysis, but the dynamics this year require at least a brief look. Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger appointed Lt. Gov. Abel Maldonado to that office as a thank you for breaking his signed pledge not to vote for tax increases. Schwarzenegger at the time was in one of his recurrent "we must raise taxes to save the state" modes and so rewarded Maldonado's lying. Additionally, Maldonado refused to support the legal defense of Proposition 8. That did it for some GOP conservatives, and Capitol Resource Institute Executive Director Karen England is waging a write-in campaign against his re-election. Other conservatives are working "under the radar" to get their brethren to take the most direct action to defeat Maldonado by voting for Democrat nominee Gavin Newsome, mayor of San Francisco.

**THE RUB**

And as Hamlet once said, there's the rub. Gavin Newsome is not just a Democrat or liberal Democrat or ultra liberal Democrat. He is a hard-core activist leftist who inhabits the left-most fringes of the California Democrat Party. So disgruntled Republicans are faced with the unappetizing choice of rewarding a liar from their own Party, voting for an extreme radical Democrat, or casting a symbolic write-in ballot for a candidate with no chance of winning. All this is important (to a point) because, while the office is itself meaningless, its occupant enjoys a leg-up in future gubernatorial races. That advantage is not always decisive, however, as Governor Mike Curb can tell you. The bottom line appears to be that if Whitman wins by more than 3 to 5 percent, Maldonado — and most of the rest of the GOP ticket — are likely to win as well. A Whitman win by less than that would clearly endanger Maldonado, and a Newsome win is likely if Jerry Brown beats Whitman. — *Advantage Maldano (unless Whitman collapses).*

**ATTORNEY GENERAL**

One of the 72 offices Jerry Brown has held, California attorney general may be the most intriguing of the statewide races as well as offering the GOP its best



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chance to win. L.A District Attorney Steve Cooley is pitted against San Francisco D.A. Kamala Harris. It presents the voters with a clear-cut philosophical choice — moderately conservative Cooley *vs.* yet another San Francisco left-winger, Harris.

Take Gavin Newsome and move to his left, and you'll find Harris. She gained fame by supporting — along with Newsome — San Francisco's "sanctuary city" law, which essentially gives free run of the city to illegal immigrants. Her looney credentials were further burnished when it came to light that under her regime and direction, the city was not handing illegal immigrants who committed felonies over to federal authorities, instead flying them to "half-way houses" in Southern California, Arizona, and Texas. Of course, she is against the death penalty.

Steve Cooley, for all his blandness and all the (deserved) criticism he took from conservatives in the primary, looks like a raving right-winger compared to Harris. The Democrats probably handed Cooley the election when they nominated Harris. Barring a Democrat landslide (most unlikely this year), Harris is simply too liberal to be get elected, even in California. If Cooley has the funds to expose Harris' record to the voters, he will be the next California attorney general. — *Advantage Cooley.*

## REST OF THE TICKET

In the contest for secretary of state, black Republican businessman and former Stanford football player Damon Dunn is the GOP standard bearer against incumbent Democrat Debra Bowen.

The race for controller features stalwart conservative state Senator Tony Strickland, against incumbent Democrat John Chiang. Strickland is a long-time fixture among conservative activists in the state, and could benefit from lack of competition on the rest of the GOP ticket for conservatives' energy.

The office of treasurer gives us choices between conservative Orange County state Senator Mimi Walters and the incumbent, life-time Democrat politician Bill Lockyer.

Republican Assemblyman Mike Villines and Democrat Dave Jones are running for insurance commissioner. About the only notable aspect of this race is that former Republican Assembly Leader Villines joined Abel Maldonado (along with several other GOP legislators) in betraying their signed pledge not to vote to raise taxes.

## COATTAILS WILL TELL

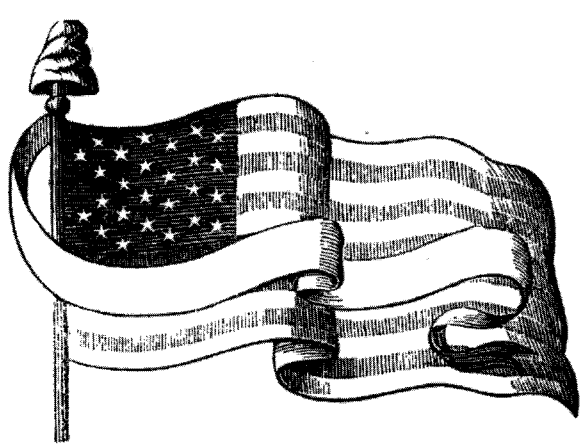
Unless some one of the above GOP candidates manage the quite unlikely achievement of raising several million dollars, they will rise and/or fall according the fortunes of the top of the ticket. The formula will likely be the same as in the lieutenant governor's race: a Whitman win by more than 5 percent puts most of them in a strong position to win; a squeaker Whitman win endangers most of them, and a Brown win almost certainly brings the Democrat candidates for these down-ticket offices along with him to the winner's circle.

## UNITED STATES SENATOR

As a federal office, this race will be affected by the national political atmosphere more directly than any other statewide contest, which appears to be a good thing for Republican nominee Carly Fiorina. Thought to be un-winnable for any Republican earlier this year, the dynamics have changed, putting Fiorina within striking distance of Barbara "Please call me Senator" Boxer.

Fiorina defeated conservative stalwart Chuck DeVore in the primary, and that initially caused some coldness between her campaign and California conservative activists. But that appears to have faded now, both because Fiorina herself has done a better job of communicating her core conservative beliefs to the activists and because the rest of the GOP ticket simply isn't inspiring to the GOP base.

Fiorina's fortunes depend (somewhat) on the dynamics of other U.S. senate races around the country. As seats move into the "safe" GOP column, competitive but tough seats like Boxer's move up on the national Republican priority list. It is possible that enough former "target seats" have become "safe GOP," that the national Republican apparatus will be able to



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devote substantial resources to Fiorina. It is also possible that if Fiornia stays close to Boxer, election day turnout dynamics favoring Republicans could push her over the top. This will be a neck-and-neck race down to the finish line. The most accurate description of it now is a toss-up. CPR

## Election Special

# U.S. Congress

**BY WILLIAM E. SARACINO**
MEMBER, *CPR* EDITORIAL BOARD

Gerrymandering being the art that it is, there is little potential movement in congressional seats , even in what could be a strong Republican year. That said, were it not shaping up to be such a strong Republican year, at least one GOP seat — that of Dan Lungren in the Sacramento area — would be in play. As it is, the Democrats are talking tough about taking Lungren out, but that is not in the cards, at least not this year.

As it is, both seats in play are currently held by Democrats.

### C.D. 11 — MCNERNY VS. HARMER

Containing parts of the the East Bay counties of Alameda, Contra Costa and Santa Clara, along with the Central Valley county of San Joaquin, this district was long held by GOP conservative Richard Pombo. He was targeted by the environmental left in 2006 and defeated that year by current incumbent Jerry McNerny.

While Pombo was a victim of some demographic change in the district, McNerny chose the right year — 2006 — to challenge for the seat. The district is Republican enough that while it joined the rest of California in swooning for President Barry O. in 2008, it gave 54 percent of it's vote to President Bush in both 2000 and 2004. This is prime swing territory.

The GOP candidate is David Harmer, who though I've never met him makes me feel quite old. That's because in 1966, as a high school YAFer, I cut some of my political teeth in his father John's first run for the State Senate. The 1966 version of Harmer was a fit ticketmate for Ronald Reagan, as would be the 2010 version, David sharing his father's strong conservatism.

A successful businessman, Harmer is giving McNerny a serious enough race that the national Democrat left has been pouring money into McNerny. Much in this race depends on turnout, and Harmer must hope for the national Democrat meltdown to be obvious when election day dawns. If that is so, Harmer's own strengths as a candidate could combine with favorable turn-out numbers to bring this seat once again into the Republican column.

Ever so slight advantage to McNerny

### CD 47 — SANCHEZ VS. TRAN

Once held by Bob Dornan, this central Orange County district has been



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mis-represented by Loretta Sanchez since she defeated Dornan in 1996. Sanchez has been a reliably liberal vote, and will play the race card at the drop of a hat. She did so recently against her GOP opponent, Assemblyman Van Tran, commenting (in Spanish) to a Spanish language TV station, that "the Vietnamese…are coming after this district to take it away from us." Those familiar with Ms. Sanchez were not the least bit surprised by that bit of bile.

In most years Van Tran would be on a fool's errand, but this is not most years. While the district has a majority Spanish population, voter registration is more diverse and the Vietnamese community continues to grow, register to vote and turnout on election day. The district contains enough swing voters that while it gave Al Gore 56 percent of the vote in 2000, it gave President Bush a 2 percent win over John Kerry in 2004.

**The district contains enough swing voters that while it gave Al Gore 56 percent of the vote in 2000, it gave President Bush a 2 percent win over John Kerry in 2004.**

Van Tran has a compelling immigrant-success story to tell, regardless of the race of the listener. He articulates his conservative philosophy exceptionally well. He is going to need some help to beat Sanchez, that help most likely coming in the form of very depressed Democrat turnout. Sanchez is vulnerable to that as the Hispanic community has a roller-coaster history of turnout percentages.

Some national conservative organizations have targeted this seat, and while still uphill for Tran, a coming together of a "perfect storm" for him of voter anger at incumbents and low Democrat turnout could have him being called Mr. Congressman after November.

*Leans to Sanchez*

## Election Special

# California Senate

**BY WILLIAM E. SARACINO**
MEMBER, *CPR* EDITORIAL BOARD

Although the national Republican/teaparty-tide is perhaps not showing its effects as strongly in our home state and it is in other regions, the effects *are* there. And (as of this writing) another few weeks remain for it to continue to do what it has been doing for the past few months: grow stronger (It, or prehaps I should say anti-Obamaism, is really a most remakable phenomenon. Just when you expect it to peak, it instead rolls on to new heights.) This movement is amazingly resilient, and it depends on the enthusiasm of the activists, not any particular leader or leaders. The left is like it in some ways, but this is bigger than anything they have ever achieved and it is built on stronger convictions (lefties have their anti-war" movements, but the only time they seeem to move mountains is in resistance to the draft). This movement is for freedom under the rule of law; once adopted, that profound cause is never exhausted. So (in short) anything can happen — here's some places to look for possible power-shifting in Sacramento.

### S.D. 12 — CABALLERO VS. CANNELLA



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Containing parts of San Benito, Merced, Madera and Stanislaus counties, this district is perhaps the most pivotal Senate seat up for grabs. Currently held by termed-out Republican Jeff Denham, the district is largely rural and has a conservative tilt to it. It is in both parties cross-hairs however because of Denham leaving and the Democrat's desperation to capture the 2 seats necessary to give them a 2/3rds majority in the upper house.

The conservative nature of the district is reflected in Democrat Anna Caballero's campaign. She is running on conservative themes, and you'd swear she never heard of anybody named Obama, Brown or Boxer. Low taxes and plenty of guns have been her watchwords.

In a different year that might work here, but if the voters are in the mood to elect a conservative, and they appear to be, they will likely choose the authentic one, Republican nominee Anthony Cannella. As Mayor of Ceres Cannella has presided over a city that has a balanced budget, a hefty rainy-day reserve fund, and open arms for business. Additionally he is a strong candidate personally.

This race is going to be hugely expensive, and in a different year might well tilt toward the Democrats. But the underlying conservatism of the district, combined with the strong Cannella candidacy ought to keep this seat in Republican hands.

**S.D. 16**
**RUBIO VS. THIESSEN**

Just about at the center of the central valley, this seat covers parts of Fresno, Kings, Tulare and Kern. Being vacated by termed-out Dean Florez, the district has a Democrat bent to it, but largely rural, conservative Democrats. The Democrat candidate, Michael Rubio, revealed after the primary election that...oops...he didn't really live in the district as law requires. No problem replied Democratic operative and Secretary of State Debra Bowen — we'll blame the county registrar and not you. How convenient!

It remains to be seen if the voters buy that explanation, as it is being pushed hard by GOP nominee Tim Thiesen. Thiesen was recruited by the Senate Republican leadership for this race, and defeated veteran conservative legislator Phil Wyman in a nasty primary. Open wounds continue to linger from some consider as unethical Thiesen tactics, and he needs every GOP vote he can get if he is going to wrench this seat from the Democrats.

For their part, the Democrats realize they cannot afford to lose this seat, and will spend quite literally whatever they think it will take to hold onto it. That might not be enough this year, but the ongoing bad blood from the GOP primary helps the Democrats. As with other seats mentioned, this one may well come down to how badly the national Democrat shellacking depresses turnout. At the moment the seat leans toward staying Democrat, but just barely.

**S.D. 34**
**CORREA VS. KRING**

Incumbent Lou Correa is something of a legislative one-of-a-kind, a genuine moderate, strongly pro-gun and mildly pro-business Democrat. That sometimes gets him in hot water with unions and Democrat leadership, but they know he is their best bet to hold this central Orange County district, so leave him unmolested by and large.

Correa's political profile would usually make him a sure bet for re-election, but this district underlies the Loretta Sanchez — Van Tran congressional race, insuring a level of GOP activity Correa doesn't often have to contend with. GOP nominee, Anaheim Councilwoman Lucille Kring is putting up a good fight, but will need a true alignment of the planets to upset Correa. That said — this is just the year for such happenings. She carries the endorsement of the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association.

Correa is a survivor in the rough and tumble of Orange County politics, and he likely will survive this time as well. The year and possible strongly pro-GOP atmospherics however make this district one to keep on the radar. At the moment it leans strongly to Correa.

**S.D. 36**
**ANDERSON VS. CLAY**

This inland San Diego and part of Riverside district is absolutely safe for the GOP nominee, Assemblyman Joel Anderson. I include it in the last as a point of personal privilege, as Anderson is my favorite member of the legislature.

A staunch, articulate conservative, Joel labored for many years as a worker-bee in the GOP and conservative vineyards. He was quite literally always there when the conservative movement needed him. It is delightfully refreshing to see such selfless dedication to principle pay off in politics. It has and will continue to do so for soon-to-be Senator Joel Anderson. California will be a better place because of that. — *Next: the California Assembly::*



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Election Special

# California Assembly

**BY WILLIAM E. SARACINO**
MEMBER, *CPR* EDITORIAL BOARD

As there are some personal observations in the following analysis, a bit of biographical information is in order. In a previous life, I was director of a statewide conservative PAC based in Sacramento, Chief of Staff for the Assembly Republican Caucus, and had my own political consulting firm for 10 years. Okay, okay, I was a political hack — but proud of it. The point being that I know a bit about what it takes to win political campaigns.

One of those things is a firm, knowledgeable hand at the top of the organizational chart, directing and overseeing all targeted campaigns. The Assembly GOP has that this year in the person of Kevin Spillane. I've known Spillane a long time, worked with him a bit and have watched him direct a lot of successful campaigns. He was a great choice to direct the Assembly GOP electoral efforts.

**AD 5**
**PUGNO VS. PAN**

This Sacramento/Placer district used to be solid Republican territory, and while it still has a strongly conservative hue to it, changing demographics have made the party registration almost exactly even. A goodly chunk of the Democrat registration however is middle class, blue collar and conservative. That gives the advantage to Republican candidate Andy Pugno in his battle against the Democrat Richard Pan.

In the interests of full disclosure, I first became aware of Andy almost 20 years ago when he led a conservative take-over of the student government at liberal bastion UC Davis. That is akin to Tom McClintock being elected Mayor of San Francisco, so Andy was marked early on as a savvy, committed conservative. Since then we worked on several campaigns together and I consider he and his wife friends. That said, were there bad news to impart here — and there is some — I would do so.

What bad news there is comes from two sources — the California Medical Association and the national gay lobby. The CMA is spending big bucks to elect Democrat Richard Pan, as he is a physician. Additionally, since a portion of the CMA membership earns their living by violating their Hippocratic Oath and ending the lives of unborn children, the CMA doesn't like Pugno's pro-life positions.

The national gay lobby hasn't forgiven Pugno for being the chief legal counsel for 2008's Proposition 8, which defined marriage as being legal only between a man and a woman.

The left has made defeating Pugno something of a national cause, so large "independent expenditures" against him can be anticipated.

The good news is that Pugno and his supporters were well aware of all of this from day one. He raised an amazing $250,000 from over 2,000 individual contributors in the primary, and has continued to work hard, every day, since. The Assembly GOP leadership views the 5th as a "must hold" — it is being vacated by termed out Assemblyman Roger Nielllo — so will make sure that Pugno's own fund raising is augmented by the 3rd House and other GOP Assembly members.

Having cut his teeth in the "ground game" of politics — the nitty gritty of precinct walking, phone calling, in-home coffees, etc. — Pugno is placing heavy emphasis on those as well as the mail and electronic aspects of the campaign. He has been successful in reviving much of the grassroots conservative cadre that had gone dormant in the area. As an added plus, Pugno has a top notch consultant — Matt Rexroad — guiding the effort.

As mentioned above, while the district isn't as safely Republican as it once was, it still has a distinct GOP hue to it. Because of the political climate this year, that hue should deepen into a solid conservative, Republican win. Andy Pugno should be on the "help list" of every conservative in California. If you are interested, you can find out more at: www.andypugno.com.

This district will stay in GOP hands.



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**AD 10**
**SIEGLOCK *VS.* HUBER**

This district is adjacent to the 5th - covering all of Amador county and parts of El Dorado, Sacramento and San Joaquin counties - and used to be as solidly Republican as its neighbor. That changed in 2008 when Democrat Alyson Huber won the district by 474 votes in a huge upset. She has been the number one Democrat target for Assembly Republicans since then, and if the GOP is to take back the once "solid 10th" this is the year to do so.

GOP candidate Jack Sieglock, who was on the losing end of the 474 vote count, has been working hard since '08 and his efforts are paying off. While Huber has been trying hard to sound as conservative as the district, her vote for the largest tax-increase in California history (thank you Arnold Schwarzenegger) puts the lie to her façade. The hard work of Sieglock, full funding by the Assembly GOP, Huber's tax increase vote and the overall Republican tide on election day ought to return this seat to the GOP — by a hefty margin.

**AD 15**
**WILSON VS, BUCHANAN**

Like the 5th and the 10th, this East Bay district (parts of Alameda, Contra Costa, Sacramento and San Joaquin counties) used to be solidly Republican, but has drifted left more than either district. Another similarity with the 10th is that 2010 presents a rematch of the 2008 election between Democrat incumbent Joan Buchanan and the Republican — San Ramon Mayor Abram Wilson.

Many of the same factors that make a GOP win likely in the 10th — a hard working GOP candidate, ample funding from the Assembly GOP, the incumbent's vote for our largest tax increase ever and election day GOP turn-out advantage — are also at work here in the 15th. Additionally Wilson, an articulate conservative who happens to be black, has the consulting team of Duane Dichiara and Jim Nygren working the campaign. I know and have worked with both — they are among the brightest minds the GOP has working for them anywhere in the state.

Like the 5th and the 10th, this is going to be a hugely expensive race. In the end it would appear that the stars are aligned for Wilson this year. The district should now be rated as leans Republican.

**AD 30**
**VALDANO VS. FLOREZ**

Like SD 16, this is a "center of the central valley" district, classic swing voter turf which the two parties have battled over for years. 2010 will be no different, presenting another very expensive, most likely very close contest between Republican farmer David Valdano and Democrat businesswoman Fran Florez, part of a wanna-be political dynasty family headed by her son Dean, termed out of the 16th Senate District this year.

Were Dean running this seat — currently held by termed out Republican Dan Gilmore — would likely be safely Democrat. However mama is not sonny boy, in either popularity or political savvy, so GOP standard bearer Valdano has a real shot at victory.

Democrat registration is 9% ahead of Republican, but much of the Democrat base is still reasonably conservative — though in fairness much of it is also straight-ticket Democrat voting farm workers. Florez, who lost to Gilmore in 2008 by 1,3010 votes, had an ugly primary in which she had to spend $475,000 to eek out a win. Valdano also spent heftily in his primary ($131,000), but unlike Florez he didn't have to spend any of it attacking other Republicans, so spent it all building positive name I.D.

The outcome in this district will be heavily impacted by the extent of Democrat voter malaise and despair at their party's looming national disaster. If that has any effect at all in California, this district ought to stay in the GOP column. At the moment, it leans toward Valdano.

**AD 35**
**STOKER VS. WILLIAMS**

If there is a district in California where voters fit the old "Chablis drinking, hot-tub sitting, chic-chic liberals", it is the 35th, which contains the southern and eastern portions of Santa Barbara county and the wanna-be "Cablis drinking, etc" voters on the Ventura county coast. I know these folks well, as in one of my previous lives I ran a successful congressional campaign in this territory for Andrea Seastrand — without doubt the nicest, most decent candidate I have every worked with.

Republican Mike Stoker is a perfect fit for this district, and believe it or not I mean that as a compliment. Stoker, a former member of the Santa Barbara Board of Supervisors, is a quintessential moderate Republican. He was Seastrand's primary opponent when I guided her campaign, and was the totally "good soldier" during the general election, helping us bind up the wounds from the primary. He is well known in the district, well thought of by the local establishment — i,e, idle rich — and exceptionally conversant on local is-



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sues.

Democrat Das Williams, a Santa Barbara City Councilman, is also a good fit for the district, spouting the usual guilty-white-liberal palaver one would expect from a Political Science graduate of UC Berkeley. While the Democrats hold a 20% registration lead, they are under 50% of the total. The result in this district may well lay in the number of rich liberals who are disenchanted enough with Barry O. and Jerry B, and unthreatened enough by the bland Whitman campaign that they decide to go to the tanning salon or their pilates class instead of the polls.

Stoker can get it close without that dynamic, but he needs a depressed Democrat/liberal turnout to get across the finish line. At the moment the district leans Democrat.

**AD 78**

**Powell vs. Block**

This inland San Diego county district covers a mélange of small towns and cities, exotic spots such as Lemon Grove, Bay Terrace, La Presa, Spring Valley, Encanto, Talmadge and Allied Gardens. It was held by the GOP until current incumbent Martin Block won the then open seat for the Democrats. The two parties comprise only 74% of the total registraion (44% D — 30% R), making it the legislative district with the largest number of "non-major" party registrants. This also makes the district quintessential "swing voter" territory.

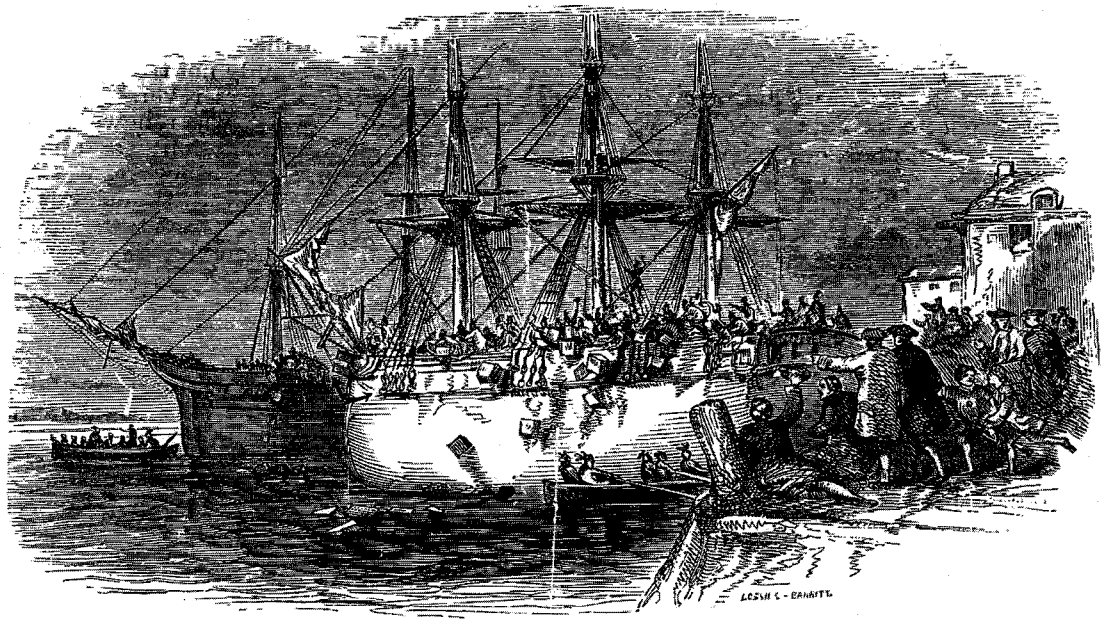
Block has worked the district hard, and will be anything but a pushover. However the Republicans have nominated an attractive candidate, highly decorated former Green Beret Rick Powell. San Diego remains a county with a large military population and military/sympathetic population, and Powell will certainly have a strong pull for those folks. The Democrats realize this and have this district high on their funding priority list, determined not to let it slide back into GOP hands. A ton of money could be spent by both sides here, and Powell will benefit from the hale and hearty San Diego GOP central committee. Block will counter that with union dollars and the support of liberals living in the city of San Diego who don't have contested races in their own districts. This should be a fun district to watch. At the moment it leans Democrat.

**AD80**

**SANCHEZ VS. PEREZ**

This district contains all of Imperial county and the eastern portion of Riverside county. Like AD 78, it was represented by a Republican until 2008, when the Democrats won it as an open seat. Incumbent Democrat Manny Perez is a local Riverside county product and has strong roots in the district. His GOP opponent, small business owner and local Chamber of Commerce board member Steve Sanchez served as an aide to former GOP Assemblywoman Bonnie Garcia, so he also knows the district well.

*(Please turn to page 26)*



BOSTON TEA PARTY



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# Introducing Jerry Brown as a Golden State Perennial — Part III

**by M. David Stirling**

***More exists to know about Jerry Brown than merely his last term as governor. Herewith, Dave Stirling wraps up his series on Brown with a look at his current job performance.***

Edmund Gerald "Jerry" Brown Jr. has been in public life for more than 40 years and for most of those years pundits have labored to answer the question: Who really is Jerry Brown? Articles with titles such as "The Many Lives of Jerry Brown," "Jerry Brown re-invents himself," and "Political flexibility still a defining trait of Jerry Brown" have appeared for years. Many Brown-watchers consider him the most enigmatic politician this country has seen. Less generous, I described him as "the most chameleonic politician in California history."

My first two articles in this California Political Review series were titled "Remembering Jerry Brown as Governor" (CPR, March/April and July/August 2010 — also available at: www.cppf.us). Each offered detailed examples of how Jerry thought and acted as governor. This artoicle examines some of his acts — and a glaring failure to act — in his current job as the state attorney general, the second most powerful constitutional officer in California. It



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*Dave Stirling is an attorney who served in the State Assembly, in Governor Deukmejian's administration, as a Superior Court judge, and as chief deputy attorney general. He is Of Counsel with Pacific Legal Foundation, but the views expressed here are his own. He is author of the book* Green Gone Wild — Elevating Nature Above Human Rights (www.greengonewildbook.com).

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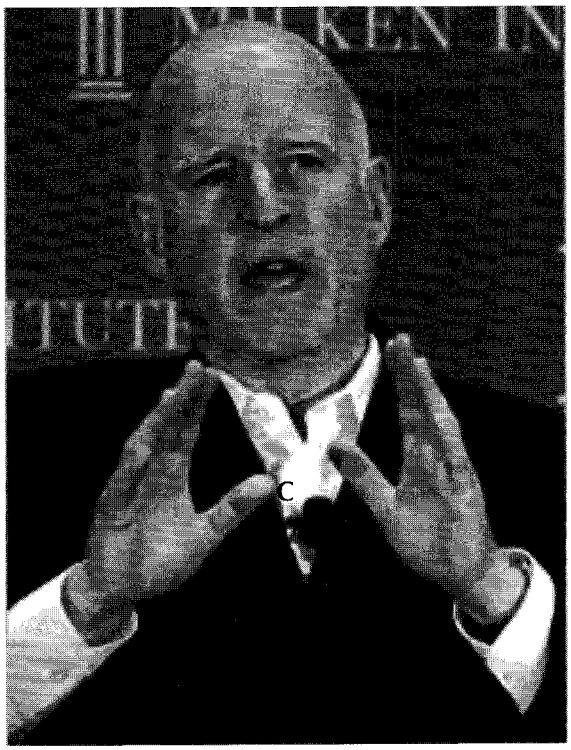

is possible to know who Jerry Brown really is; one just has to dig a bit deeper to uncover it.

## VERY GREEN AND VERY AMBITIOUS

Shortly before the 2006 general election, with his name on the ballot as a candidate for state treasurer, outgoing Attorney General Bill Lockyer filed a lawsuit against the six leading automakers, charging that their vehicle tailpipe emissions of CO2 contributed to greenhouse gases that caused global warming. The suit sought millions of dollars in compensation for the state treasury from the auto industry for the economic and social damage caused by alleged global warming-induced floods, forest wildfires, and other natural disasters. The suit asked the U.S. District court in San Francisco to declare that by making and selling vehicles in the state, Ford, General Motors, Toyota, and the other companies were engaged in a "public nuisance." The suit was pending when Jerry Brown took office as attorney general.

During his first week in office, I, as a former chief deputy attorney general, wrote a letter to Jerry on behalf of my legal organization, Pacific Legal Foundation, urging him to dismiss this "frivolous" lawsuit. I explained that if vehicle tailpipe emissions needed further regulation, under our system of government it was a matter for Congress to address rather than the courts. I also pointed out some practical considerations: that making and selling cars in California was not only a legal activity, but a highly beneficial one; that the producing and selling of more environmentally clean vehicles in the state would be diminished if automakers were penalized for doing so; and that the lawsuit could cost the industry billions of dollars in lost business, and cost the state millions in lost tax revenues, as well as the loss of untold numbers of jobs.

But Jerry was more intent on shaking things up politically than he was concerned about misusing the courts to address an issue constitutionally prescribed to Congress. He pushed forward with the suit on the chance that he might get a liberal federal judge to rule that the automakers were indeed causing global warming. If Congress wouldn't attribute global warming to human activity by manufacturing motor vehicles — a theory that has yet to be demonstrated by hard scientific evidence — he would go around Congress and try to convince a federal judge to do it. Win or lose, the suit would give him recognition as the nation's leading global warming fighter, and a leg up in a future run for governor.

But the federal judge that heard the case would have none of it. He summarily dismissed Jerry's case precisely because the function of regulating vehicle tailpipe emissions was within the purview of the people's elected representatives in the Congress, not the federal courts. Jerry appealed the district court's dismissal to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, but later dropped it rather than have the most reversed federal circuit court in the country rule against him. He was satisfied with his enhanced reputation as fighter for the environment.

During the same time period, Jerry teamed up with hardcore green organizations like the Center for Biological Diversity and the Sierra Club to file a lawsuit against San Bernardino County. The suit charged that the county's recently updated general plan for new commercial and residential development projects failed to take into consideration the impact on global warming. The county responded that its general plan did address global warming, but that new commercial and residential development was necessary to provide homes and jobs for more people, and to maintain the county's economic viability. However, the



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county soon realized what Jerry already knew: that it could not afford the legal costs of defending against the attorney general's office. (Jerry has boasted: "I've got 1,100 lawyers standing by and they're looking for someone to sue," *Sacramento Bee,* March 31, 2008.) So the county settled the suit by agreeing to reduce and offset carbon emissions. As the Sierra Club's spokesman proudly declared, Brown's suit "got local governments and developers to sit up and take notice that they won't be able to do business as usual." Yeah, but at what cost?

In 2008, Jerry threatened suit against the Nestle Corporation's proposed water bottling plant in an economically depressed former lumber town in Northern California because of its effects on global warming. Nestle's plan was to bottle water from three natural springs in McCloud, California. The plant would produce enough water to fill moe than three billion bottles and provide the community with 100 jobs. While the plant's alleged impact on global warming would have been microscopic at most, Jerry's threat caused Nestle to drop the plan and leave McCloud.

While Jerry's many global warming lawsuits against local governments and private businesses have significantly damaged the state's depressed economy, they have garnered for him the unwavering support of millions of voters for whom the threat of global warming is a primary concern.

**WHERE'S THE ATTORNEY GENERAL WHEN YOU NEED HIM?**

On September 21, the Berkeley Daily Planet released a detailed eight-part series of articles in cooperation with several other publications, organized by the spot.us non-profit organization. Part One, "The Investors' Club: How the University of California Regents Spin Public Money into Private Profit," and the entire series can be found at www.spot.us. To describe the information presented as shocking would be an understatement.

Although "the university's ties to corporate and banking interests are many and legion," the Planet reported, "a special kind of privatization is taking place behind closed doors... Some members of the regents' investment committee, who are also Wall Street heavy-hitters, have modified long-standing investment policies in a way that benefited their own financial holdings. The fallout: multiple conflicts of interest."

According to this series of articles, instead of continuing a long practice of investing in more traditional blue-chip stocks and bonds, beginning in 2003, three members of Board of Regents — Gerald Parksy, Richard C. Blum (husband of U.S. Senator Diane Feinstein), and Paul Wachter, "all financiers by trade — took control of UC's investment strategy" and steered the Regents "toward largely unregulated 'alternative' investments, such as private equity and private real estate deals." Because these less regulated transactions were handled by outside private managers hired by the Regents, they were "not subject to the same public disclosure laws that apply to university operations."

The Berkeley Daily Planet articles reveal that since Richard Blum was appointed to the Board of Regents by Governor Gray Davis in 2002, "UC has invested $748 million in seven private equity deals in which he or his firm, Blum Capital Partners, was a major investor .... Many of these deals were operated in partnership with TPG Capital, where Blum is an investor and an executive." The articles further reports that "since 2004, the California Public Employees Retirement System (CalPERS) has invested billions of dollars in deals that served the financial interests of Mr. Blum, Mr. Wachter, and California Governor [and Ex-Officio Regent] Arnold Schwarzenegger, often in tandem with UC's investments in the same deals. During this time period, Blum Capital Partners was an investment advisor to CalPERS."

The articles further state that Regent Sherry Lansing, a member of the board of directors of Qualcom (for which she receives an annual director's fee of $135,000, plus stock options) owns over $1 million in Qualcom stock options. "... after Ms. Lansing joined the Qualcom board, UC quadrupled its investments in Qualcom to $397 million." And these are just a few examples of the information reported.

State law, the UPlanet further explained, as well as the UC's own conflict of interest guidelines, provide that "even the appearance of a conflict of interest is prohibited." The Attorney General's published guidelines state that "Public officials are disqualified from participating



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**Even liberal Santa Clara University law professor Gerald Uelman declared that Jerry's argument 'turns constitutional law on its head.'**

in government decisions in which they have a financial interest." Indeed, the primary purpose of the Political Reform Act of 1974, spearheaded by then Secretary of State Jerry Brown, was to reduce conflicts of interest by public officials. Yet, Jerry is simply AWOL while appearances of serious conflicts of interest are rampant. Wonder why?

**SELECTIVE ENFORCEMENT OF THE STATE CONSTITUTION**

In 1996, the voters of California enacted Proposition 209, a constitutional amendment to prohibit government from imposing racial or gender preferences — *i.e.,* affirmative action — in public education, public employment, and the letting of government contracts. In 1997, 209 was upheld under the U.S. Constitution by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. Yet, in 2009, Attorney General Jerry Brown filed a brief with the California Supreme Court urging the Court to ignore Proposition 209 because, Brown argued, it was unconstitutional. Instead, the Court ignored him. But what Jerry's argument did accomplish was to gain for him was the lasting support of many minorities who have opposed Proposition 209 from the beginning.

In December 2008, after publicly stating that he would defend Proposition 8, the state constitutional amendment defining marriage as the union of a man and a woman, Jerry did a sudden, last-minute reversal and attacked the measure as unconstitutional, even though it had already been upheld by the California Supreme Court. He argued that Proposition 8 violates the U.S. Constitution, despite the U.S. Supreme Court's earlier upholding of other states' pro-marriage laws. Even liberal Santa Clara University law professor Gerald Uelman declared that Jerry's argument "turns constitutional law on its head." But again, while Jerry's position seems bizarre to many, he is a champion to left-wing activists who will surely thank him in November. CPR

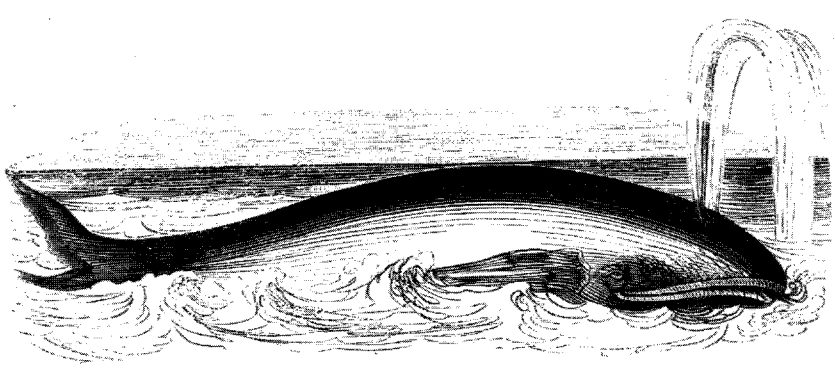
## Saracino

*(Continued from page 22)*

Additionally, Sanchez is a retired Marine Sergeant, so he is no stranger to a tough fight. Sanchez could also benefit from the large number of retired military in the rural portions of this largely rural district.

The Democrats have a "slight" — by California standards — 10 percent registration advantage, which could be erased by election day dynamics. Both parties have targeted this district and both will spend freely. The best election day "ground game" will likely prevail here. It is a true toss-up at the moment. CPR





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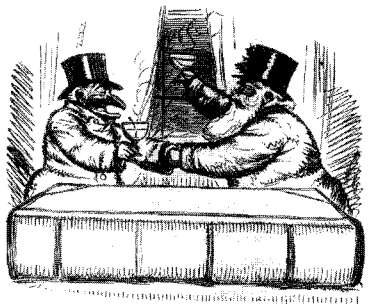

HISTORY

# The Idea of a University

## Part II — Theology 's bearingon other branches of knowledge

BY JOHN HENRY NEWMAN

*(Introduction by John Kurzweil)*

### Introduction

David Horowitz daily chronicles the demise of academic freedom on America's elite (and often not so elite) college and university campuses. Oddly enough, the grand assault on freedom of thought is usually accompanied by shouts of triumph for supposed "academic freedom."

It is a triumph, not for freedom, but for Orwellian double-think (the habit of keeping two or more mutually exclusive thoughts in one's head at the same time and believing both or all of them to be true). This is the precedent for the sort of of nonsense that labels anti-Boy Scout and anti-family marriage redefinition crusades to be "victories" for the First Amendment.

The root of the problem, as Cardinal Newman brilliantly showed more than 150 years ago in a series of lectures (which we began publishing in *CPR's* last issue and continue here), is the artificial exclusion of God — specifically, the study of what we know about God and about our relation to Him — from university curricula. Not surprisingly, we find this act of exclusion and thought suppression typically carried out in the name of "science" and "free thought."

Newman's lectures were occasioned by the proposed founding of a new universty to be built in Dublin, Ireland. In the event, no university was built, but Newman's lectures survive as still among the best expositions of universities' proper purposes. The lectures (abridged from the original) explain the loss of ability to think rationally and freely, much less scientifically, that has seized so many campuses today.

It should by borne in mind that this remains a relatively recent innovation in Western University education. Every major Western university up at least through the founding of Harvard and Yale in this country was established to include theology as a central part of the curriculum. This long-standing tradition broke down in the West during the nineteenth century. The change has proven catastrophic for education and for American culture and science, opening the door wide for, among other absurdities, the near-universal assumption that evolution is not only true,

*John Kurzweil is editor of* California Political Review.



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but known to be true by all rational people, and that it is the very foundation of all Western science, not to say of all rational thought. (Anyone surprised by the wholesale acceptance of the "Global Warming" hoax please take note.)

These lectures are lengthy, subtle, and require close study. I urge readers to approach them with patience. The rewards are rich and plentiful, but will take some work to win. At least they have for me. But winning them is well worth the effort; they will make clear the weird progression that has taken most of American higher education from genuine learning to the woefully closed-minded indoctrination that passes for "university" education in the West, and should make us all thank God for the small windows of reawakening opening at such colleges as Thomas Aquinas and Hillsdale. The blade of grass will always eventually break through, a word of truth will always outweigh the world. I hope in a small way this series contributes to the rebirth by helping make it clear how we arrived at this point and why matters *must* be restored.

Please send comments to: Editor, *CPR,* P.O. Box 931, Camarillo, CA 93011 or to *calprev@cppf.us.* Please, in either case, include your name and city.

# The Idea of a University

## by John Henry Newman

When men of great intellect, who have long and intently and exclusively given themselves to the study or investigation of some one particular branch of secular knowledge, whose mental life is concentrated and hidden in their chosen pursuit, and who have neither eyes nor ears for anything that does not immediately bear upon it, when such men are at length made to realize that there is a clamor all around them, which must be heard, for what they have been so little accustomed to place in the category of knowledge as religion, and that they themselves are accused of disaffection to it, they are impatient at the interruption; they call the demand tyrannical, and the requisitionists bigots or fanatics. They are tempted to say, that their only wish is to be let alone; for themselves, they are not dreaming of offending any one, or interfering with any one; they are pursuing their own particular line, they have never spoken a word against any one's religion, whoever he may be, and never mean to do so. It does not follow that they deny the existence of a God, because they are not found talking of it, when the topic would be utterly irrelevant.

All they say is, that there are other beings in the world besides the Supreme Being; their business is with them. After all, the creation is not the Creator, and things secular are not religious. Theology and human science are two things, not one, and have their respective provinces, contiguous it may be and cognate to each other, but not identical. When we are contemplating earth, we are not contemplating heaven; and when we are contemplating heaven, we are not contemplating earth. Separate subjects should be treated separately. As division of labor, so division of thought is the only means of successful application. "Let us go our own way," they say, "and you go yours. We do not pretend to lecture on Theology, and you have no claim to pronounce upon science."

With this feeling they attempt a sort of compromise between their opponents who claim for Theology a free introduction into the schools of science, and themselves who would exclude it altogether: viz., that it should remain indeed excluded from the public schools, but that it should be permitted in private, wherever a sufficient number of persons is found to desire it. Such persons, they seem to say, may have it all their own way, when they are by themselves, so that they do not attempt to disturb a comprehensive system of instruction, acceptable and useful to all, by the intrusion of opinions peculiar to their own minds.

### RESPONSE

I will now attempt a philosophical answer to this representation, that is, to the project of teaching secular knowledge in the University Lecture Room, and re-

*John Henry Newman, English divine, philosopher, man of letters, and leader of the Tractarian Movement, lived from 1801 to 1890.*



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***A sidebar:***

# What a university provides that books alone cannot

*—from "The Rise and Progress of Universities,"* Historical Sketches I, *volume 3, Chapter 2. What is a University?)*

The principle on which I have been insisting [that a complete education requires more than merely book-learning — *editor]* is so obvious, and instances in point so ready, that I should think it tiresome to proceed with the subject, except that one or two illustrations may serve to explain my own language about it, which may not have done justice to the doctrine.

For instance, the polished manners and high-bred bearing that are so difficult of attainment, and so strictly personal when attained, which are so much admired in society, from society are acquired.

All that goes to constitute a gentleman: the carriage, gait, address, gestures, voice; the ease, the self-possession, the courtesy, the power of conversing, the talent of not offending; the lofty principle, the delicacy of thought, the happiness of expression, the taste and propriety, the generosity and forbearance, the candour and consideration, the openness of hand;—these qualities, some of them come by nature, some of them may be found in any rank, some of them are a direct precept of Christianity; but the full assemblage of them, bound up in the unity of an individual character, do we expect they can be learned from books? are they not necessarily acquired, where they are to be found, in high society?

The very nature of the case leads us to say so; you cannot fence without an antagonist, nor challenge all comers in disputation before you have supported a thesis; and in like manner, it stands to reason, you cannot learn to converse till you have the world to converse with; you cannot unlearn your natural bashfulness, or awkwardness, or stiffness, or other besetting deformity, till you serve your time in some school of manners. Well, and is it not so in matter of fact? The metropolis, the court, the great houses of the land, are the centres to which at stated times the country comes up, as to shrines of refinement and good taste; and then in due time the country goes back again home, enriched with a portion of the social accomplishments, which those very visits serve to call out and heighten in the gracious dispensers of them. We are unable to conceive how the "gentlemanlike" can otherwise be maintained; and maintained in this way it is.

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manding religious knowledge to the parish priest, the catechism, and the parlor; and in doing so, you must pardon me, gentlemen, if my subject should oblige me to pursue a lengthy and careful course of thought, which may be wearisome to the hearer. I begin then thus:

**BY DEGREES AND BY CIRCUITOUS ADVANCES**

Truth is the object of knowledge of whatever kind; and when we inquire what is meant by truth, I suppose it is right to answer that truth means facts and their relations, which stand towards each other pretty much as subjects and predicates in logic. All that exists, as contemplated by the human mind, forms one large system or complex fact, and this of course resolves itself into an indefinite number of particular facts, which, as being portions of a whole, have countless relations of every kind, one towards another. Knowledge is the apprehension of these facts, whether in themselves, or in their mutual positions and bearings. And, as all taken together form one integral subject for contemplation, so there are no natural or real limits between part and part; one is ever running into another; all, as viewed by the mind, are combined together, and possess a correlative character one with another, from the internal mysteries of the Divine Essence down to our own sensations and consciousness, from the most solemn appointments of the Lord down to what may be called the accident of the hour, from the most glorious seraph down to the vilest and most noxious of reptiles.

Now, it is not wonderful [surprising] that, with all its capabilities, the human mind cannot take in this whole vast fact at a single glance, or gain possession of it at once. Like a short-sighted reader, its eye pores closely, and travels slowly, over the awful volume that lies open for its inspection. Or again, as we deal with some huge structure of many parts and sides, the mind goes round about it, noting down, first one thing, then another, as it best may, and viewing it under different aspects, by way of making progress towards mastering the whole.



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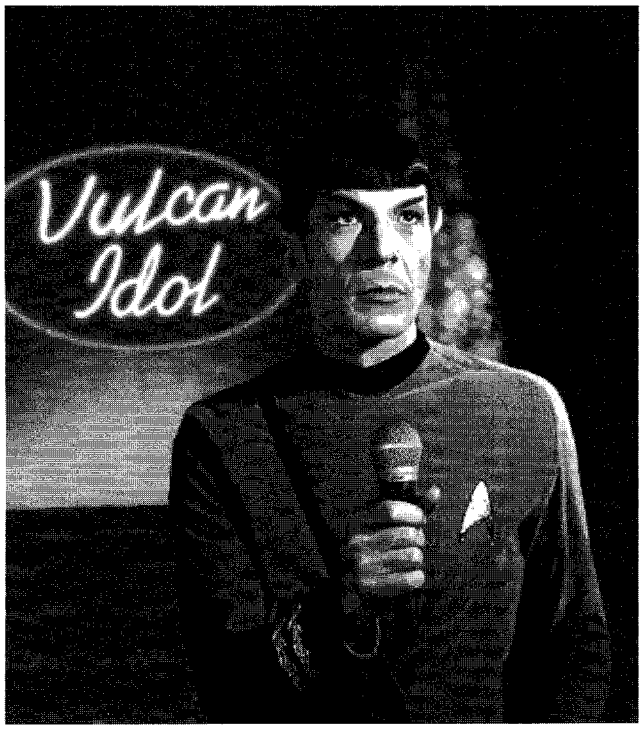


**Is it necessary to exclude God when we study science?**

So by degrees and by circuitous advances does it rise aloft and subject to itself a knowledge of that universe into which it has been born.

These various partial views or abstractions, by means of which the mind looks out upon its object, are called sciences, and embrace respectively larger or smaller portions of the field of knowledge; sometimes extending far and wide, but superficially, sometimes with exactness over particular departments, sometimes occupied together on one and the same portion, sometimes holding one part in common, and then ranging on this side or that in absolute divergence one from the other.

Thus optics has for its subject the whole visible creation, so far forth as it is simply visible; mental philosophy has a narrower province, but a richer one. Astronomy, plane and physical, each has the same subject-matter, but views it or treats it differently; lastly, geology and comparative anatomy have subject-matters partly the same, partly distinct.

Now these views or sciences, as being abstractions, have far more to do with the relations of things than with things themselves. They tell us what things are only or principally by telling us their relations, or assigning predicates to subjects, and therefore they never tell us all that can be said about a thing, even when they tell something, nor do they bring it before us, as the senses do. They arrange and classify facts; they reduce separate phenomena under a common law; they trace effects to a cause. Thus they serve to transfer our knowledge from the custody of memory to the surer and more abiding protection of philosophy, thereby providing both for its spread and its advance. For, inasmuch as sciences are forms of knowledge, they enable the intellect to master and increase it; and, inasmuch as they are instruments, to communicate it readily to others.

Still after all, they proceed on the principle of a division of labor, even though that division is an abestraction, not a literal separation into parts. And, as the maker of a bridle or an epaulet has not, on that account, any idea of the science of tactics or strategy, so in a parallel way, it is not every science that equally, nor any one that fully, enlightens the mind in the knowledge of things as they are, or brings home to it the external object on which it wishes to gaze.

Thus they differ in importance; and according to their importance will be their influence, not only on the mass of knowledge to which they all converge and contribute, but on each other. (Emphasis added).

Since, then, sciences are the results of mental processes about one and the same subject-matter, viewed under its various aspects, and are true results, as far as they go, yet at the same time separate and partial, it follows that on the one hand they need external assistance, one by one, by reason of their incompleteness, and on the other that they are able to afford it to each other, by reason, first, of their independence in themselves, and then of their connection in their subject-matter. Viewed altogether, they approximate to a representation or subjective reflection of the objective truth, as nearly as is possible to the human mind, which advances towards the accurate apprehension of that object in proportion to the number of sciences it has mastered. When certain sciences are away, in such a case the human mind has but a defective apprehension in proportion to the value of the sciences that are wanting and the importance of the field on which they are employed.

And, according to those relations are the sciences of which he is the subject-matter, and according to our acquaintance with them is our possession of a true knowledge of him.

**FOR INSTANCE**

Let us take, for instance, man himself as our object



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of contemplation. Then we shall at once find we can view him in a variety of relations. Those relations are known according to the sciences of which he is the subject-matter, and according to our acquaintance with those sciences is our possession of a true nowledge ofthose sciences is our possession of a true nowledge ofknowledge of man. We may view him in relation to the material elements of his body, or to his mental constitution, or to his household and family, or to the community in which he lives, or to the Being who made him. In consequence we treat him, respectively, as physiologists, or as moral philosophers, or as writers of economics, or of politics, or as theologians.

When we think of him in all these relations together, or as the subject at once of all the sciences I have named, then we may be said to reach unto and rest in the idea of man as an object or external fact, similar to that which the eye takes of his outward form.

*The devotees of any science, or family of sciences, thinking to effect everything without aid from any other quarter, necessarily become bigots and quacks, scorning all principles and reported facts that do not belong to their own pursuit.*

On the other hand, according as we are only physiologists, or only politicians, or only moralists, so is our idea of man more or less unreal; we do not take in the whole of him, and the defect is greater or less, in proportion as the relation is, or is not, important, that is omitted, whether his relation to God, or to his king, or to his children, or to his own component parts. And if there be one relation, about which we know nothing at all except that it exists, then our knowledge of him, confessedly, is deficient and partial, and that, I repeat, in proportion to the importance of the relation.

## COMPLETED BY ONE ANOTHER

That therefore is true of sciences in general which we are apt to think applies only to pure mathematics, though to pure mathematics it applies especially, *viz.*, that they cannot be considered as simple representations or informants of things as they are. We are accustomed to say, and say truly, that the conclusions of pure mathematics are applied, corrected, and adapted, by one another; but so too the conclusions of anatomy, chemistry, dynamics, and other sciences, are revised and completed by each other. Those several conclusions do not represent whole and substantive things, but views, true, so far as they go. In order to ascertain how far they go, how far they correspond to the object to which they belong, we must compare them with the views taken out of that object by other sciences.

Were we to proceed upon the abstract theory of forces, we should assign a much more ample range to a projectile than in fact the resistance of the air allows it to accomplish. Let, however, that resistance be made the subject of scientific analysis, and then we shall have a new science, assisting, and to a certain point completing, for the benefit of questions of fact, the science of projection.

On the other hand, the science of projection itself, considered as belonging to the forces it contemplates, is not more perfect, as such, by this supplementary investigation. And in like manner, as regards the whole circle of sciences, one corrects another for purposes of fact, and one without the other cannot dogmatize, except hypothetically and upon its own abstract principles.

For instance, the Newtonian philosophy requires the admission of certain metaphysical postulates if it is to be more than a theory or a hypothesis. For instance: that what happened yesterday will happen tomorrow; that there is such a thing as matter, that our senses are trustworthy, that there is a logic of induction, and so on. Now to Newton metaphysicians grant all that he asks; but, if so be, they may not prove equally accommodating to another who asks something else, and then all his most logical conclusions in the science of physics would remain hopelessly on the stocks, though finished, and never could be launched into the sphere of fact.

Again, did I know nothing about the movement of bodies, except what the theory of gravitation supplies, were I simply absorbed in that theory so as to make it measure all motion on earth and in the sky, I should indeed come to many right conclusions, I should hit off many important facts, ascertain many existing relations, and correct many popular errors. I should scout and ridicule with great success the old notion, that light bodies flew up and heavy bodies fell down; but I should go on with equal confidence to deny the phenomenon of capillary attraction. Here I should be wrong, but only be-



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cause I carried out my science irrespectively of other sciences.

In like manner, did I simply give myself to the investigation of the external action of body upon body, I might scoff at the idea of chemical affinities and combinations, and reject it as simply unintelligible.

Were I a mere chemist, I should deny the influence of mind upon bodily health; and so on, as regards the devotees of any science, or family of sciences, to the exclusion of others; they necessarily become bigots and quacks, scorning all principles and reported facts that do not belong to their own pursuit, and thinking to effect everything without aid from any other quarter.

Thus, before now, chemistry has been substituted for medicine; and again, political economy, or intellectual enlightenment, or the reading of the Scriptures, has been cried up as a panacea against vice, malevolence, and misery.

## KNOWLEDGE FORMS ONE WHOLE

Summing up, gentlemen, what I have said, I lay it down that all knowledge forms one whole, because its subject-matter is one; for the universe in its length and breadth is so intimately knit together, that we cannot separate off portion from portion, and operation from operation, except by a mental abstraction; and then again, as to its Creator, though He of course in His own Being is infinitely separate from it, and Theology has its departments towards which human knowledge has no relations, yet He has so implicated Himself with it, and taken it into His very bosom, by His presence in it, His providence over it, His impressions upon it, and His influences through it, that we cannot truly or fully contemplate it without in some main aspects contemplating Him.

Next, sciences are the results of that mental abstraction, which I have spoken of, being the logical record of this or that aspect of the whole subject-matter of knowledge. As they all belong to one and the same circle of objects, they are one and all connected together; as they are but aspects of things, they are severally incomplete in their relation to the things themselves, though complete in their own idea and for their own respective purposes. On both accounts they at once need and subserve each other.

And further, the comprehension of the bearings of one science on another, and the use of each to each, and the location and limitation and adjustment and due appreciation of them all, one with another, this belongs, I conceive, to a sort of science distinct from all of them, and in some sense a science of sciences, which is my own conception of what is meant by Philosophy, in the true sense of the word, and of a philosophical habit of mind, and which in these Discourses I shall call by that name.

This is what I have to say about knowledge and philosophical knowledge generally. And now I proceed to apply it to the particular science, which has led me to draw it out.

I say, then, that the systematic omission of any one science from the catalogue prejudices the accuracy and completeness of our knowledge altogether in proportion to its importance. Not even Theology itself, though it comes from heaven, though its truths were given once for all at the first, though they are more certain on account of the Giver than those of mathematics, not even Theology, so far as it is relative to us, or is the Science of Religion, do I exclude from the law to which every mental exercise is subject, viz., from that imperfection, which ever must attend the abstract, when it would determine the concrete. Nor do I speak only of Natural Religion; for even the teaching of the Catholic Church, in certain of its aspects, that is, its religious teaching, is variously influenced by the other sciences. Not to insist on the introduction of the Aristotelic philosophy into its phraseology, its explanation of dogmas is influenced by ecclesiastical acts or events; its interpretations of prophecy are directly affected by the issues of history; its comments upon Scripture by the conclusions of the astronomer and the geologist; and its casuistical decisions by the various experience, political, social, and psychological, with which times and places are ever supplying it.

What Theology gives, it has a right to take; or rather, the interests of truth oblige it to take. If we would not be beguiled by dreams, if we would ascertain facts as they are, then, granting Theology is a real science, we cannot exclude it, and still call ourselves philosophers. I have asserted nothing as yet as to the pre-eminent dignity of Religious truth; I only say, if there be Religious truth at all, we cannot shut our eyes to it without prejudice to truth of every kind, physical, metaphysical, historical, and moral; for it bears upon all truth. And thus I answer the objection with which I opened this Discourse. I supposed the question put to me by a philosopher of the day, "Why cannot you go your way, and let us go ours?" I answer, in the name of the Science of Religion, "When Newton can dispense with the metaphysician, then may you dispense with us."

CPR



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# A thank you to our friends

As we all reach the end of what must seem for many friends of *CPR* (certainly those of us directly involved in the preparation and distribution of this publication) the most gruelling and most endless political/election season in memory — and a good many of us are beginning to have long memories of covering politics in the Golden State — I wanted to take this opportunity to thank personally the many writers, volunteers, readers, editors, financial supporters, well-wishers — all of them the most wonderful lovers of freedom and of America's magnificent "uniqueness" (for want of a better term) — just to thank them all I say for doing so much to keep this little publication in place and producing against sometimes ridiculous odds. God, but I do love you all so.

Incredibly, we've been doing *California Political Review* for nearly 21 years now. The grand turn-around we have worked for seems closer than ever. But, to paraphrase Winston Churchill, whether deliverance comes in 2010 or 2012 or slowly over a period of another dozen years or more, it is coming and cannot be stopped. The people have awakened as never before in more than a century. We can all be proud to have played even a small part in it. Our sons and daughters will have the job of cleaning up the liberal detritus in the wonderful job of restoring American freedom. To this historic and most important work in the world, if we have contributed even slightly, we can join Patton, who told his troops: "30 years from now, when your child bouncing on your knee asks what did you do in great war to liberate America?" you *won't* have to say, "Well, I shoveled s**t in Louisiana." God bless America.

— John Kurzweil, editor, *CPR* and *CPR Online*


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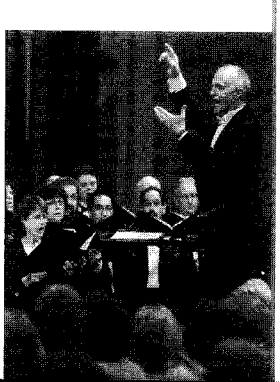

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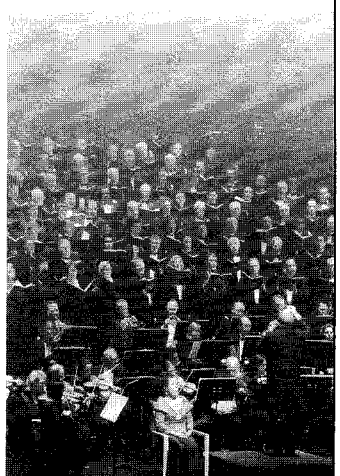

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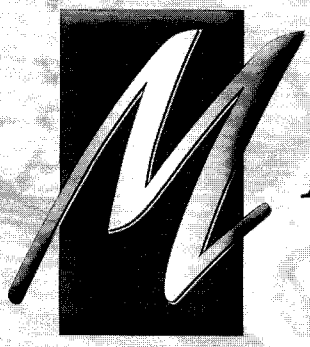

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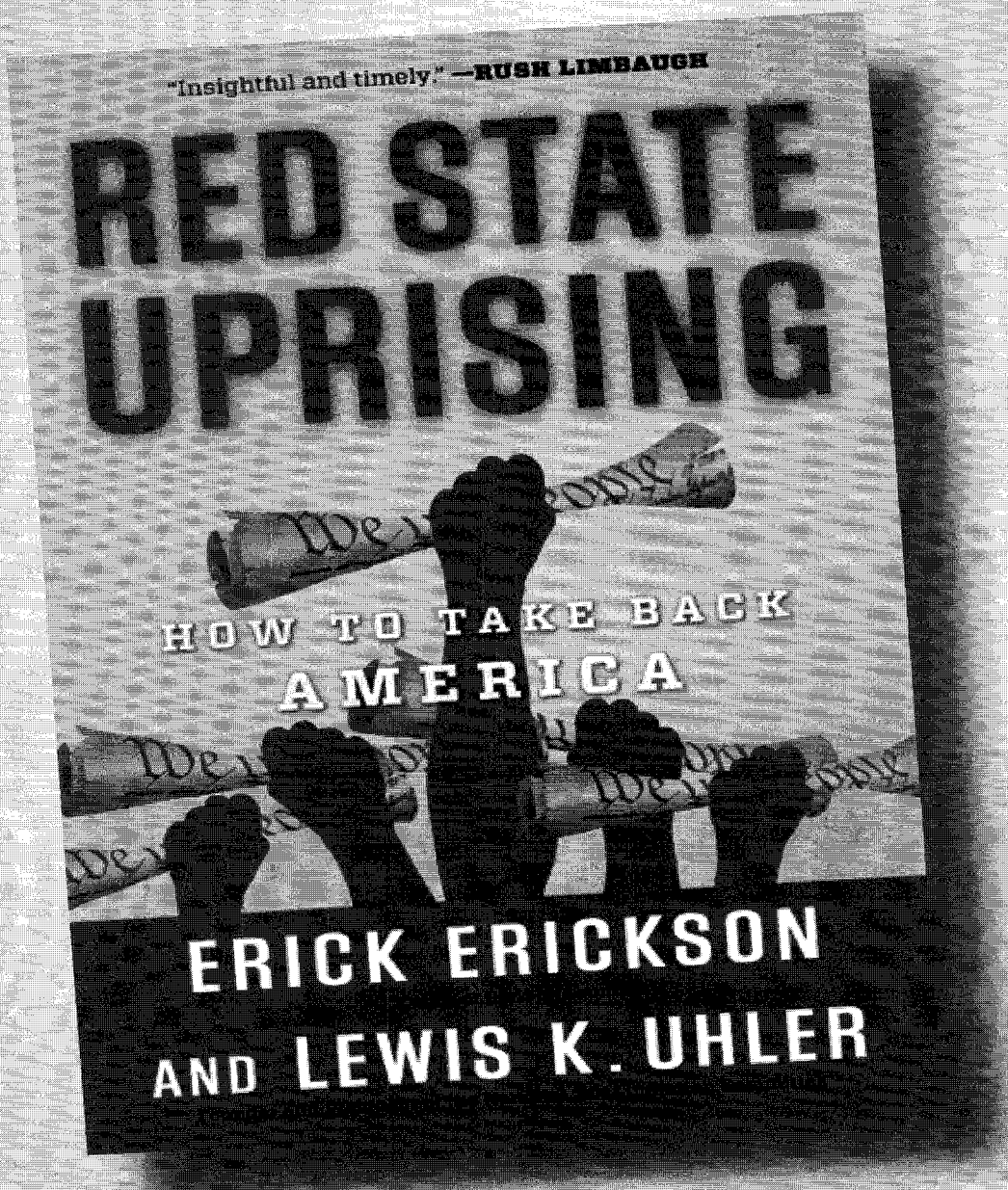


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